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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 001198

DEPT FOR AF/RA - AMB FRIEDMAN; ALSO AF/C

E.O. 12356: DECL: 18 APRIL 1996

TAGS: AMGT

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL: RWANDA AT NINE MONTHS

1. I OFFER THE DRAFT BELOW FOR YOUR PERUSAL BEFORE I SEND IT TO THE RWANDA COLLECTIVE AND WELCOME ANY IDEAS, CHANGES OR PERSPECTIVES YOU MIGHT WISH TO SUGGEST. WE HOPE YOU HAVE A SUCCESSFUL MEETING IN NEW YORK AND ARE SOON ON YOUR WAY HERE. AS YOU HAVE NO DOUBT DISCOVERED, I WAS MISINFORMED. THE C-12 WHICH HAD GRACIOUSLY BEEN PUT AT MY DISPOSAL WENT QUIETLY BACK TO ABIDJAN WITHOUT MY BEING TOLD. OH WELL, DIA GIVETH, DIA TAKETH AWAY.

2. SUMMARY. ON APRIL 24, WE BEGIN THE 10-MONTH OF OUR WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH RWANDA'S NEW GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. IT IS TIME TO LOOK AROUND AT THE LANDSCAPE AND GAZE A BIT TOWARD THE HORIZONS. WE FIND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT DRAMATICALLY RESTORED, POLITICAL

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PERSPECTIVES MORE CLEARLY DEFINED, THE STATE PENNILESS, THE ECONOMY STILL IN INFORMAL CHANNELS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT TO HELP RWANDA STILL HESITANT. THE NEAR HORIZONS WILL SEE ACCENTUATION OF CURRENT CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN RWANDAM POLITY AND SOCIETY AND A HEIGHTENED LEVEL OF INSURGENCY AND CONCOMITANT SECURITY CONTROLS. THE PROCESS OF TIME WILL BRING HOME MORE DISPLACED AND REFUGEES, RESTORE ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE ON THE HILLSIDES AND CHIP AWAY AT THE WALLS OF OPPOSITION BETWEEN EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL RWANDAN GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS. UNLESS WE STOP TALKING AND START DOING, INTERWATIONAL SUPPORT TO RWANDA WILL REMAIN INCHOATE AND INEFFECTUAL. END SUMMARY

3. THE LANDSCAPE. THE CHANGES IN RWANDA SINCE LAST JULY ARE EVIDENT EVERYWHERE. ELECTRICITY AND WATER WORKS FUNCTION IN ALL URBAN AREAS; TELEPHONES PART OF THE TIME CONNECT PROVINCIAL VILLAGES TO THE CAPITAL. THE POST OFFICE IS WORKING AWD SO ARE A PLETHORA OF E-MAIL SYSTEMS. CITIZENS HAVE A CHOICE OF RADIO STATIONS: GOVERNMENT, CATHOLIC OR UN; SWISS-SPONSORED RADIO GACHACHA EXPECTS TO BROADCAST FROM RWANDA WITHIN THE MONTH. THERE ARE MORE NEWSPAPERS OFFICIAL, SEMI-OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE THAN AT ANY TIME IN RWANDA'S HISTORY. THIS WEEK SECONDARY DAY AND BOARDING SCHOOLS OPENED AND THE UNIVERSITY HELD IT INAUGURAL LECTURE TWO WEEKS AGO. GOVERNMENT HEALTH SERVICES ARE SLOWLY TAKING OVER FROM PVO-MANAGED HEALTH CARE.

4. OUT IN THE COUNTRY, HILLSIDES ARE GRADUALLY FILLING UP AS IDP'S AND REFUGEES TRAIL HOME. THE RETURN OF 59  
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EXILES HAS LARGELY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED; IN SPITE OF DWINDLING RATES, 94 REFUGEES ARE STILL MOVING BACK. WITH THIS RETURN, ARISE SECURITY PROBLEMS. IRATE 59'ERS LOOTED FOOD CONVOYS AND ATTACK UNAMIR STATIONS IN GISENYI, RETURNING REFUGEES SHIELD INSURGENT MILITIAS, AND CRIMINAL ACTIVITY INCREASES AMONG AN UNPAID MILITARY TIRED OF KEEPING THE PEACE. MEANWHILE THE EXISTENCE OF PROTECTED IDP CAMPS ON RWANDAN SOIL IS A CONTINUING IRRITANT TO GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES BUT A WELCOME

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HAVEN TO THOSE WHO RETURNING HOME HAVE FOUND INTIMIDATION AND ARREST RATES UNCOMFORTABLY HIGH.

5. NEW CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE RATES HAVE BROUGHT A SEMBLANCE OF CONTROL TO THE ECONOMY BUT IT REMAINS A TRADERS MARKET FEATURING FORMER EXPATRIATES AND RETURNED EXILES OFTEN USING THE PREMISES OF CURRENT REFUGEES. THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF IS WITHOUT RESOURCES OR REVENUE STREAM. NO LIQUIDITY UNDERGIRDS THE ECONOMY EXCEPT CONTINUING DOLLAR PURCHASES OF NGO'S, UN AND FOREIGN MISSIONS. IN SPITE OF HAVING ARREARAGES PAID SINCE DECEMBER, THE WORLD BANK HAS YET TO INVEST A PENNY IN OTHER THAN ITS 420 MILLION GRANT TO UN HUMANITARIAN IMPLEMENTERS. IN UNSEEMLY HASTE THE BANK HAS BLAMED LITTLE RWANDAN FOR ITS OWN INCAPACITY TO ACT AND SENT ITS RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE OFF IN A HUFF. THE LENDER TO THE WORLD MAY WELL BE BACK ON THE STREET BEGGING FOR ANOTHER BAILOUT OF ARREARAGES BEFORE IT MOVES ANY MONEY FORWARD IN RWANDA.

6. THE BANK HESITANCY BUT MIRRORS THE SLOW PACE OF DONOR

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INVESTMENT IN REBUILDING RWANDA. ONLY A TINY FRACTION OF FUNDS PLEDGED IN GENEVA HAVE BEEN OBLIGATED. WHILE COORDINATION MECHANISMS ARE FUNCTIONING COORDINATED IMPLEMENTATION HAS YET TO HAPPEN. AS ONE PAPER RECENTLY MISPELLED IT, WE HAVE GONE FROM "URGENCY TO DEVELOPMENT." AS ALL DONORS FOCUS ON JUSTICE AS THE PRIORITY SECTOR, THE VISION OF GENOCIDE AS THE BACKDROP TO ANY RENDITION OF JUSTICE IN RWANDA SEEM TO BE RECEDING. AND AS THE WORLD AND THE WORLD'S MEDIA FORGET ABOUT GENOCIDE, ITS VICTIMS TRY TO CALL IT FORTH WITH EVER INCREASING STRIDENCY. THIS GAP BETWEEN DONORS PROMISES AND DELIVERIES AND BETWEEN THEIR GLOBAL VISION OF RWANDA'S PROBLEMS AND THE NARROWER RWANDAN PERSPECTIVE WHICH MAKES GENOCIDE PRIMAL CAUSE HAS LED TO A GAP IN TRUST AND A SORT OF PSYCHOWAR AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE AND ITS MOST POWERFUL EMANATION--UNAMIR.

7. THE CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, EXCEPT FOR

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THE JUDICIARY, ARE FUNCTIONING AND EXTENDING THEIR  
PURCHASE TO THE PROVINCES. BUT WITH THIS GROWTH COMES

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INCREASED COMPETITION WITHIN GOVERNMENT FOR RESOURCES, POLICY CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTION. THE COMPETITION IS UNFORTUNATELY TAKING ON A ETHNIC TONE WITH THE LIBERAL PARTY TUTSIS MORE HOSTILE TO HUTU CLAIMS THAW THE MOST RADICAL OF RPF. SIMILARLY RPF HUTU STALWARTS LIKE ITS TITULAR CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE OR MINISTER OF INTERIOR SENDASHONGA OR DEPUTY COL. LIZINDE IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE SEEM CLOSER TO PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU THAN THEY DO TO THE RPF LINE. ONCE AGAIN GENOCIDE IS THE DRIVING FORCE WHICH SEPARATES PEOPLE AND HARDENS ATTITUDES. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU'S DECEMBER PLEA THAT, WHILE HONORING THE DEAD AND SEEKING

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JUSTICE, RWANDANS SHOULD GET ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF PROVIDING SECURITY TO ALL CITIZENS AND REBUILDING NATIONAL UNITY BROUGHT DOWN ON HIM THE ANGER OF ALL TUTSI ELITE AND THE TREAT OF EXPULSION FROM GOVERNMENT.

8. THE GROWING DIVIDE IN GOVERNMENT IS NOT SO MUCH BETWEEN RADICAL AND MODERATE ELEMENTS AS BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF RWANDA'S FUTURE. THE ONE, IMPELLED BY THE DETERMINATION NEVER TO LET TUTSI BE THREATENED BY GENOCIDE REQUIRES CONTINUING RPF DOMINANCE OF MILITARY AND POLITICAL FORCES AND THE CONCOMITANT ECONOMIC MACHINERY WHICH IN AFRICA ATTACHES TO POWER; THE OTHER ANSWERING TO THE LOGIC OF POWER SHARING AND DEMOCRACY SEES A FUTURE IN WHICH OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL HAVE THE DOMINANCE WHICH THEIR NUMERICAL BASE WARRANTS. CALLS FOR JUSTICE OR DEMOCRACY ARE SHORTHAND EXPRESSIONS OF THOSE POLITICAL VISIONS. WITH OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ARUSHA PROCESS, OUR OWN ASPIRATIONS FOR RWANDA HAVE TENDED TOWARD THE SECOND OPTION. BUT OUR DETERMINATION TO DEAL WITH THE GENOCIDE ISSUES AND BRING PERPETRATORS TO JUSTICE MEANS GOING ALONG FOR THE NEAR TERM WITH DOMINANCE BY A MINORITY VICTIMIZED FACTION.

9. THE UNITED STATES HAS CHOSEN A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF HELPING A GOVERNMENT THAT IS INCREASINGLY HAM-STRUNG IF NOT SHRIVEN. WE MADE AN EARLY AND CONSIDERABLE COMMITMENT TO DEALING WITH RWANDA'S HUMANITARIAN CRISIS AND THEN TO HELPING THE GOVERNMENT CREATE CONDITION FOR

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NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, FOR RETURN OF REFUGEE AND FOR  
EVENTUAL CLOSING OF HOSTILE CAMPS ON ITS BORDERS. WE  
HAVE GALVANIZED THE DONOR EFFORT THROUGH THE OPERATIONAL  
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SUPPORT GROUP AND MORE RECENTLY THROUGH LEADERSHIP OF BI-  
LATERAL DONORS IN THE FIELD. OUR COMMITMENT TO DEALING  
WITH GENOCIDE HAS BEEN CLEAR SINCE THE SPECIAL SESSION ON  
RWANDA LAST MAY. IN SPITE OF THE SIX MONTHS IT TOOK TO  
GET OUR EQUIPMENT ON THE GROUND, OUR RESPONSE TO  
REHABILITATION OF KEY MINISTRIES HAS PUT US IN THE  
FOREFRONT OF ASSISTANCE IMPLEMENTORS. WE NOW HAVE  
FIELDDED QUALITY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THAT IS INTERACTING  
WITH GOVERNMENT AND HELPING IT GRAPPLE WITH CRITICAL  
ISSUES IN A POSITIVE AND PERHAPS UNIQUELY AMERICAN WAY.

10. BUT THE MORE PEOPLE COME HOME, THE MORE GOVERNMENT  
EXTENDS ITS REACH, THE MORE RWANDANS DISCUSS THE  
CLEAVAGES WROUGHT BY THEIR CIVIL WAR, THE MORE THE  
CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN RWANDAN SOCIETY SEEM TO GROW.  
MODESTY ABOUT OUR CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE THE PROCESS MAY  
BE THE FIRST REQUISITE TO SUCCESS IN OUR FUTURE  
ENDEAVORS. CERTAINLY WE NEED TO INCREASE PRACTICAL  
ASSISTANCE THAT GIVES COMPUTERS, DESKS AND TRANSPORT AND  
A HELPING TECHNICAL HAND TO A GOVERNMENT THAT HAS  
NOTHING. OUR EXPERTS NOW IN THE FIELD ARE DEVISING JUST  
SUCH PRAGMATIC INTERVENTIONS. WE MUST PUSH THE TRIBUNAL  
TO ACCELERATE ITS GLACIAL SPACE. NO PERPETRATOR AT THIS  
POINT IS EVEN THREATENED WITH JUSTICE MUST LESS BROUGHT TO  
BAR. AS CIVIL SOCIETY SPROUTS AND BLOSSOMS IN RWANDA'S  
THOUSAND HILLS WE SHOULD HELP NURTURE IT. ONCE WE HAVE  
HELPED CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BECOME FUNCTIONAL, WE MUST  
CONCENTRATE ON WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND  
LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. TRAINING WILL BE AN  
ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF THAT PROCESS AND PERHAPS ONE OF  
THE THINGS WE DO BEST.

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11. AS WE LAUNCH THESE BILATERAL PROGRAMS, WE NEED TO BE  
IN CLOSE CONVERSATION WITH GOVERNMENT AND THE UNITED  
NATIONS DEFINING THE ARENA OF THE POSSIBLE FOR AN  
INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE THAT IS STILL SOLICITED BY MANY IN  
GOVERNMENT AND CERTAINLY NEEDED AS GUARDIAN OF THE  
INNOCENT AND GUARANTOR OF JUSTICE WITHIN A DIVIDED  
SOCIETY. RAWSON

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